Germany Rearmed, but Lightly—*Carolus*

THE Nation

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December 17, 1949

The Jerusalem Story

A Victory for the Vatican

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

Atomic Strategy Is Obsolete

BY MAX WERNER

*

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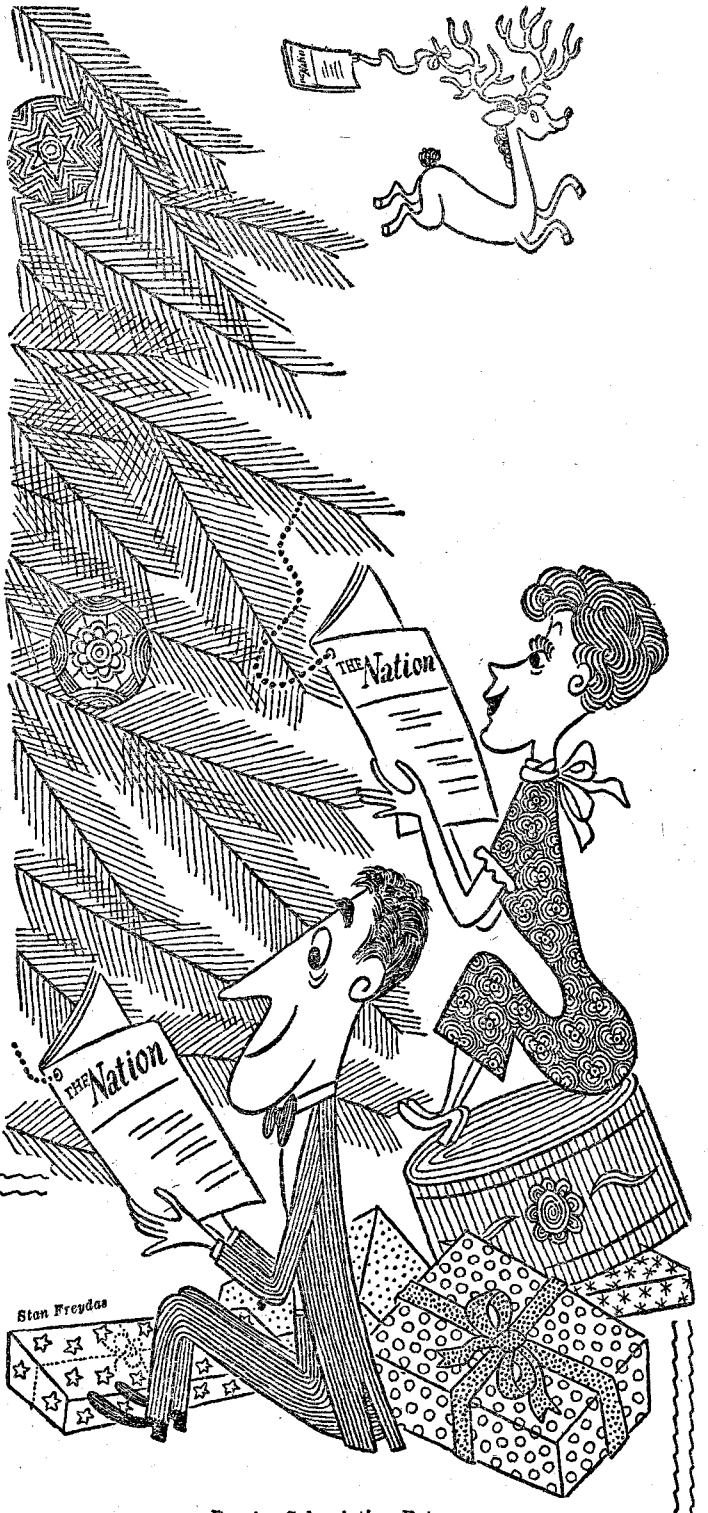

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

LAST YEAR IT WAS LILIENTHAL. THIS YEAR it's Hopkins and Wallace. And always, at bottom, it is Franklin D. Roosevelt who is the real object of the endless probing that has become standard procedure with the opposition. Link the dead President to Russia, to something very like treason if possible—that is the hope; and the technique is to damn him through his top lieutenants. Sordid as the strategy is, there is perhaps some gain for political decency in having these men emerge unimpaired after each brush with their detractors. It was Senator Hickenlooper, not David Lilienthal, who looked bad when his particular probe turned out to be hardly more than a whine, though a prolonged one. Hopkins and Wallace are luckier. Not all the screeching of the New York *World-Telegram* and the Hearst press could give more than a few days' life to the fantasy of Fulton Lewis, Jr., that they had forced the shipment of atomic materials to Russia over the protests of General Leslie R. Groves. The inspiration was the belated revelation of a publicity-starved ex-major that when he was a lend-lease expediter at Great Falls in 1943, Hopkins had pressed him into speeding uranium, heavy water, and various documents to the Russians. He had opened suitcases, he said in a radio interview with Lewis, and found a memorandum on White House stationery bearing the initials "H. H." and containing the line: "Had a hell of a time getting these from Groves." Apart from the wild implausibility of this tale—Hopkins was gravely ill and in the hospital and we had only an insignificant quantity of fissionable materials in 1943—the Jordan story was utterly demolished by Groves himself, though he obviously had no affection for either Hopkins or Wallace. The contention that numerous carboys of heavy water had been shipped, the General told the un-American Activities Committee, was like saying "the Russians had obtained ten Hope diamonds."

*

THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR GOVERNMENT'S defeat is not nearly so significant as some wishful-thinking commentators would have us believe. Over the last thirty years the Labor Party has won power on several occasions, lost it at subsequent elections, and later regained it. The idea that this new upset by a narrow margin after an eight-year stretch in office indicates permanent decline is of course nonsense. So too is the suggestion that Australia has started a steady retreat from socialism. Robert Gordon Menzies, leader of the victorious conservative party which calls itself Liberal, who will become Australia's next Prime Minister, is described as a fervent believer in the free-enterprise system. Nevertheless, it is certain that he will attempt neither economic counter-revolution by returning Australia to a real free-market economy nor abolition of the welfare state. His followers are mostly stout protectionists: his allies in the Country Party, on whose votes he must depend for a majority, qualify their devotion to free enterprise by such demands as a ten-year guaranty of minimum prices for farmers. Moreover, Mr. Menzies was careful to disclaim any intention of interference with the social services. Such considerations have not tempered the pleasure of British Tories who claim that the overthrow of Labor governments in New Zealand and Australia foreshadows coming events in their own country. They badly needed some Antipodean cheer, for two days before the Australian vote they had failed by a substantial margin to snatch the South Bradford parliamentary seat from Labor. Before the poll the Labor Party had been nervous about the outcome of this by-election, but the returns showed that its 1945 following had remained almost intact. To British political experts this fact has a more important bearing on general-election prospects than Labor defeats under the Southern Cross.

*

WITH THE FIRST FALL OF SNOW IT IS NICE to know that the swallows are safe in the Southland and our Senators are home again, safe from the wolves of Europe. Senator Thomas, of Oklahoma, had a narrow escape from Sweden, where he wandered about for several days without so much as a free banquet. His feelings are still badly wounded, but he seems to have made up for the malnutrition by living rather well in France. Taxpayers will be glad to know that the Senator's trip at their expense included visits to the Lido, Bal Tabarin, and Folies Bergères—all "good shows," he told a reporter for the Paris edition of the New York

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Herald Tribune. "We got all our Christmas shopping done," too, the Senator announced. And now, well fed and full of good cheer, he can turn his senatorial attention to those aloof Swedes. For Senator McCarran, of Nevada, a high spot of Europe was the displaced persons' camps. McCarran can't see why any haste is needed to get people out of those camps four years after the end of the war, even though they may be decaying in idleness and despair. Their living conditions, he reports, "are better than living conditions of the average inhabitant of many areas of the United States." The finding, coincidentally of course, will sustain Mr. McCarran in his feverish efforts to prevent any liberalization of the present grudging D. P. bill. But the camps were not the only fine thing in Europe. Spain was just as good, with a program of "extremely progressive" legislation. This must be a new interest for the Senator, by the way, and it raises a neat question. If progressive legislation justifies support of Franco, why not of Truman? But here McCarran's standards must be taken into account. After all, Franco Spain can't help appealing to a man whose idea of the good life is the carefree existence of a D. P. camp.

*

THE ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS wound up its fourth session with a record of failures, blunders, and limited successes. It achieved success in the controversial issue of the Italian colonies; it failed to satisfy the universal clamor for agreement on the question of atomic energy; and it blundered most irresponsibly on Jerusalem, producing a "solution" which will injure the United Nations itself more than the communities directly concerned. The Assembly showed better sense in dealing with China. By turning the problem over to the Little Assembly, it buried diplomatically and with partial honors the Nationalist demand that the United Nations hold Russia to blame for the disaster which has overwhelmed the Chiang Kai-shek regime. It ended the dispute on the very day when the last remnants of Nationalist China were fleeing from the mainland to take refuge on the island of Formosa —a precarious refuge unlikely to be retained until the next Assembly. Whether or not this situation is reflected immediately in the Security Council, one thing seems sure: British recognition of the Communist government will come within the next few weeks, American recognition will inevitably follow, and the question of Chinese representation in the Security Council will be resolved automatically. The Assembly closed with a final bitter attack by Russia. Many people present thought that Jacob A. Malik, the Soviet representative, would have done better to demand that the intermediary period between this Assembly and the next should be used to clear up some of the main areas of conflict, as was done last year in the case of Berlin. Certainly it

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will not be through inflammatory speeches and mutual recriminations that solutions will be achieved. Present tactics may end in falling bombs but not in agreement.

*

THE CREATION OF THE NEW SOCIALIST Unity Party in Italy is added evidence of the deep current of dissatisfaction which for more than a year has been agitating every Socialist Party in Europe. The continental parties are sharply divided over many policies, domestic as well as foreign, which their representatives in the various governments have supported. If the French Socialists have been disturbed by the attitude of successive coalition Cabinets toward economic issues and, above all, toward the rapid resurgence of clerical influence under the protection of the Catholic M. R. P., the Italian Socialists have found it even more difficult to collaborate in a government headed by a man who frankly speaks for the Vatican. This growing dissatisfaction dominated the congress at Florence from which the new party emerged. The ostensible purpose of the Socialist Unity Party is to heal the breach in the Italian Socialist movement, which in 1947 divided into a left-wing party headed by Pietro Nenni and a right-wing party led by Giuseppe Saragat. So far, however, it has drawn its backing from the right rather than from the left, the Nenni party having held its forces intact while Saragat lost to the new organization nine of his thirty deputies, with four still undecided. Besides such well-known figures as Ignazio Silone, the novelist, and Giuseppe Romita, a minister in the first post-war Cabinet, the new party has among its leaders Giuseppe Faravelli, one of the best of Saragat's parliamentary group. In terms of policy it is interesting that the first pronouncement of the new party was a strong protest against the North Atlantic Pact. This development is well worth watching. It may be the beginning of European socialism's recovery of its personality and independence.

*

EVERY DOCTOR IN THE UNITED STATES, whatever his views on national health insurance, will now have to contribute $25 a year to the American Medical Association to support its fight against such legislation or put his stethoscope in mothballs. A doctor can hardly continue in practice if denied the liability insurance, the working arrangements with hospitals, and other benefits accruing from membership in the association and affiliated state and county medical societies; and last week in Washington the A. M. A.'s House of Delegates—its policy-making body—decreed that membership shall henceforth be contingent upon payment of $25 in annual dues. This, it so happens, is precisely the amount A. M. A. officials wanted to assess each physician last winter to provide $3,500,000 with which to combat President Truman's health plan. When too many doctors rebelled, the assessment was hastily redefined as "voluntary." Two-thirds of the desired total was subscribed, of which but $50,000 remains unspent, while health legislation is more than ever in demand. We can understand the panic of the A. M. A. leaders, but their latest maneuver may prove their greatest mistake, for as even the conservative New York *World-Telegram* has pointed out, it can only arouse hostility within and without the medical fraternity. They might more wisely have taken a moment from their debates to listen to Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois, who in a press conference a few blocks away outlined a health plan he would soon submit to Congress in an effort to resolve the public-health controversy. While details are yet to be filled in, there seems to be much good sense in the Senator's proposal to apply a small pay-roll tax toward insurance against "catastrophic" medical expenses—those exceeding 5 per cent of a family's income. At the same time the workability of a program under which state and private agencies administer federal funds is doubtful. But in any event we repeat Senator Douglas's warning to the A. M. A.: If you don't accept a sensible program now, you may in the end find it impossible to avoid something less than sensible.

*

IN MOSCOW, IDAHO, WHICH HAPPENS TO BE the home of the state university, four Indian boys were recently given sentences of fourteen years each for stealing one sheep. The theft of livestock has, of course, always been a serious offense in the West and was once punishable by death. But even if one makes allowance for the strength of tradition, this particular sentence seems gravely disproportionate to the offense. The Indian boys, in asking for a rehearing, said that they did not know the meaning of "grand larceny" and that they had been promised light jail sentences or fines if they entered pleas of guilty. As Roscoe Fleming, the always quotable columnist of the Denver *Post* has observed, "The term grand larceny does seem a trifle obscure as applied to one sheep divided among four Indian boys."

*

THE SEVENTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY OF ALVIN Johnson, president-emeritus of the New School for Social Research, to be celebrated on December 18, will be the occasion for innumerable tributes. It is unlikely that any of them will give him as much satisfaction as does the contemplation of his two major works, the New School and the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences. Max Lerner has said of the latter, on which he worked: "I don't suppose there has been an encyclopaedia venture since that of Diderot in the eighteenth century which generated more excitement in its making, and

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which will prove a greater landmark among social science scholars." As for the New School, it had been floundering for four years when Dr. Johnson became president in 1923. To it he brought a forceful idea of the meaning of adult education, and a tenacity and faith sufficient to make his dreams for the school come true. To others belongs the credit for the creation of the concept of adult education; Johnson gave it life, imagination, and a sense of purpose. Later, when Hitler hounded the foremost German scholars from their posts, Johnson welcomed scores of these men to the New School, enabling them to live and continue their work. That many of these refugees are now on university staffs throughout the United States is largely due to Dr. Johnson's success in persuading the heads of these institutions to open their doors to these able teachers. *The Nation* greets Dr. Johnson on his birthday and wishes him many more years of fruitful work.

Can the Miners Win?

WHATEVER settlement John L. Lewis may be able to achieve for the miners of bituminous coal is not likely to solve their problems—or his—for very long. Mr. Lewis is an unrelenting fighter, and when he is in the ring, as he is most of the time, his footwork is fast and his punches are hard. By pressing his advantage to the utmost in the past ten or fifteen years he has achieved virtually complete organization of the coal diggers and recently has won for them not only the highest hourly rates paid in any important industry but a substantial pension and other advances. But in the present situation, though he may knock out his opponent, little is likely to be gained from the victory. Something besides fighting is now required.

After World War I, Mr. Lewis's combative tendencies, combined with his failure correctly to diagnose the economic situation, nearly destroyed his union. Again and again he would enforce higher wages or shorter hours on the unionized employers of the industry, only to see them lose their markets to non-union operators. A high wage rate is of little use to a miner who has no work. Nearly 200,000 miners left the industry between 1923 and 1929, and a large proportion of those who remained were in the end working at non-union rates for operators who did not practice collective bargaining. The futility of Mr. Lewis's strategy was pointed out to him frequently, but he kept his stubborn course, ousting from power all opponents within the union who recommended a more far-sighted policy and establishing a virtual one-man dictatorship.

Thanks to the New Deal and the National Labor Relations Act, Mr. Lewis was able to rebuild the strength of the union and to make gains for the miners' standard of living above the depression low of 1932. World War II so increased the demand for coal as to put great powers in his hands, which he employed to the limit. But now the situation is again like that which the industry faced after 1920, with the exception that the miners are more completely organized. The union, however, is not the controlling factor in its economic fortunes.

There is an abundance of coal in the United States. It is in the hands of many owners; no company or small number of companies can monopolize it. When the demand for coal is pressing, as in a war, output is increased, and more miners are employed for more of their time. Then prices can be raised, and the organized workers may benefit. But when the emergency demand ceases, the industry is left with more mines and more labor than are required to fill the demand, especially at an inflated price.

Coal may be a necessity, but that does not mean there are no substitutes for it. When the price rises, and particularly when the supply is interrupted by frequent strikes, large industrial consumers, railroads, and ships turn to oil or gas; diesel and diesel-electric locomotives have displaced the old-fashioned coal-fired steam engine on many of the nation's railroads. High wages provide a stimulus for mining companies to substitute machines for labor, and they have been doing so at an accelerated pace. Meanwhile those who continue to use coal economize on its cost by using it more and more efficiently; so that a ton of coal will now turn out much more energy than it did thirty, twenty, or even ten years ago. This too tends to reduce employment in the mines.

Most of Mr. Lewis's stratagems during the recent strike have been intended to increase the bargaining power of the union by reducing the stocks of coal above ground. As soon as the miners are allowed to work full time, a surplus appears. "Vacations," three-day weeks, and the like help to diminish the surplus. But at the same time they slash the miners' livelihood. Mr. Lewis is, in essence, substituting union-organized unemployment for the unemployment which would normally appear if full production should be allowed to continue.

How long can he keep up this pressure? In a sense it is self-defeating. Every time he pushes up the wages of miners or threatens interruption of the coal supply, he discourages the demand for the product. The miners, for their part, are said to have lost on the average about a thousand dollars apiece in wages this year. The basic problem is lack of enough work for the existing number of miners, and all that the union's present strategy amounts to is a spread-the-work program in the guise of industrial conflict. If the U. M. W. now wins concessions that place an added cost burden on the industry and its customers, many of the miners will soon again be on short time or out of work.

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If the union wants to keep high wages and other advantages, the continual technological improvement will help it to do so, provided it facilitates transfer out of the industry into other occupations of those miners who are no longer needed. This is the basic problem the workers face. A remedy ought to be organized promptly, with the cooperation of government and employers if possible. Otherwise depression in the coal fields and widespread unemployment among the miners will be the fruits of Mr. Lewis's strategy.

The Jerusalem Story

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

Lake Success, December 9

THE United Nations today acknowledged the Vatican as its sixtieth member with the power to dictate its action regardless of reality, practicality, or justice. This is the meaning of the decision of the General Assembly, which turned the clock back two years by ruling that a permanent international regime should be established in Jerusalem on the basis of the 1947 resolution. Twelve Latin American countries, together with the Arab states, the Soviet bloc, and European countries with large Catholic populations, combined on a roll-call vote to create a triumph for the Vatican steam-roller. The count was thirty-eight to fourteen with seven abstentions. Had the vote been by secret ballot, the outcome would have been different. This was the view of the chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, whose country, Iran, voted in the affirmative.

The Vatican's interest in internationalization is based on its determination to make Jerusalem a second Rome. It sees in Jerusalem a gateway to the promotion of its interests in the Middle East and Asia. Although in 1947 the Vatican's custodian of the Holy Places sought only international guaranties for the Holy Places and assured access to them, Rome's attitude has changed. Two papal encyclicals issued in 1948 and 1949 called for internationalization. Roman Catholic pressure on the United States government has been insistent. On November 18 of this year Catholic cardinals and bishops published a statement demanding internationalization and opposing both the Conciliation Commission's plan and the proposal for an international curatorship under the United Nations, to provide supervision and protection of the Holy Places throughout Palestine.

For months the Vatican has pressed Israel to agree to complete internationalization. Its agents have intimated that Israeli resistance would produce two penalties: (1) deterioration of Catholic-Jewish relations throughout the world; (2) Catholic influence to retard an early settlement between Israel and the Arab world. The overtones of this threat were audible even in the Assembly debate. Charles Malik, Lebanon's delegate and the Vatican's principal representative, warned the United Nations many times that failure to act would mean that the whole of Jerusalem would shortly be in the hands of Israel. Time and again he suggested a squeeze play to the Christian world, declaring that Islam was now offering to share Jerusalem with the Christians, as it had not done for a thousand years. It was short-sighted, he implied, to think that Israel would indefinitely be the dominant factor in this situation.

EVEN those who voted for it admit that the decision to internationalize Jerusalem cannot be implemented, that any attempt to do so would touch off a new conflict which might destroy the Holy Places instead of protecting them.

On Tuesday the Trusteeship Council begins a series of meetings to draft a statute. It remains to be seen whether by using the Coué method suggested by Malik—namely, to will it—the Trusteeship Council can carry out the decision, lacking both the force and the funds to run a city-state against the will of its populations. What is expected to happen is the speedy drafting of a statute, an effort to get the acceptance of both parties, and if this meets with failure a report to that effect. That the council's effort will fail is clearly indicated. Mayor Auster of Jewish Jerusalem has announced that the community will ignore the decision and embark upon civil disobedience if internationalization is attempted. King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan has reiterated that the Old City will be taken from him over his dead body. There is no reason to believe either position will be abandoned, especially since neither authority is a member of the United Nations. Israel, having been divested of authority, will not take part in the discussions of the Trusteeship Council even if invited to do so.

In the end a special session of the Assembly will probably be held—a session which may meet with a more decisive *fait accompli* either in the form of an agreement between Israel and Jordan or of stiffening resistance to the U. N. by two communities whose proffered pledges to safeguard the Holy Places through agreements with the U. N. have been ignored.

The stage for the empty triumph of the Vatican was set by an alliance, based on interests quite unrelated to the protection of the Holy Places, among Australia,

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Lebanon, and the Soviet Union. Lebanon and the Arab states were motivated by their hatred of Israel and their jealousy lest Jordan alone reap the fruits of the Palestine war. The Soviet attitude was dictated by a desire to prevent Britain from regaining a permanent foothold in the area through its puppet, Jordan, even if it meant creating continuous turmoil there. Australia, leader in the effort to establish partition, hoped by its insistence on the 1947 resolution to assure victory for the Labor government from an electorate which is 25 per cent Roman Catholic, a hope which proved to be vain.

FROM the first it was clear in the Ad Hoc Committee that there was a basic conflict between two opposing principles—that of territorial internationalization and that of curatorship or functional internationalization, a name coined to describe U. N. supervision limited to the Holy Places. When the session opened, the Ad Hoc Committee had before it the following proposals: (1) that of the Conciliation Commission, (2) that of Israel, offering an agreement to the U. N. to assure protection of the Holy Places and free access to them, (3) an Australian plan calling for the enlargement of the Conciliation Commission from three to seven members, with a year in which to report a plan which would more nearly meet the conditions of the 1947 Jerusalem resolution. The Soviet Union proposed a series of amendments to the Australian plan the effect of which was to restore the draft statute drawn up in 1947 by the Trusteeship Council. In a twelve-page series of amendments the Lebanese proposed a new draft statute based on the trusteeship version which the Arab states had opposed and the Trusteeship Council had abandoned as obsolete in July, 1948.

None of these resolutions or amendments commanded a majority. Nor did any of them offer a rallying point to the Vatican.

This was the situation when a subcommittee of seventeen was established which should try to reconcile the proposals and report back to the Ad Hoc body in three days. No majority for any of the proposals was considered possible, and it was expected that a new plan would have to be found, in all probability a compromise limited to supervision of the Holy Places. The Soviet Union had announced that it considered the Australian proposal a halfway measure which it could not support. There was reason to believe that if the Soviet amendments were lost in the subcommittee, Russia would vote against the Australian proposal. But a surprising development occurred. The Lebanese and the Australians capitulated to the Russian point of view. All the Soviet amendments were defeated. But the Lebanese dropped their own proposals and submitted an amendment based on the Russian proposals with the addition of a single sentence. The Soviet Union accepted the Lebanese amendment as a substitute for its own. The Australian delegation also accepted this amendment, which called for the Trusteeship Council to complete a statute based on the 1947 text. The result was that the subcommittee voted for what was called an Australian resolution but was actually a Russian concept cloaked in the language of Lebanon. This was the most important victory won by the U. S. S. R. in the history of the United Nations. Small wonder it exploited such an unexpected windfall.

The name of Australia gave respectability to a resolution which had been voted down when proposed by the Soviet Union. But even more important, the union of Russia, Lebanon, and Australia produced a resolution tailored to the Vatican design.

It is a fact that neither in the subcommittee nor in the Ad Hoc Committee nor in the plenary session itself was any resolution discussed other than one which sought to restore in 1950 a situation which had existed in 1947. This failure was due to the procedural stranglehold won by the proponents of the successful plan. An attempt by the delegations of the Netherlands and Peru to bring about a free discussion of the principles which should form the basis of a practical solution was defeated in the subcommittee by a tie vote.

In the Ad Hoc Committee the sponsors of the so-called Australian resolution realized that victory depended upon having their proposal voted upon first. They succeeded in this, even though the Ad Hoc Committee, as the master of its own procedure, could by vote have reversed the decision. It is a fact that the Ad Hoc Committee, a few days earlier, would have returned a majority for the Swedish-Netherlands proposal, based on the curatorship idea, had it been put to a vote first, since a majority of the delegates were eager not to have to vote *against* internationalization but would have felt free to vote *for* a practical plan. But no one moved a reversal of this procedure, even though the delegations of the Netherlands and Canada suggested it informally.

THE victory for the so-called Australian resolution by the vote of thirty-five to thirteen with eleven abstentions was an overwhelming surprise to both its backers and its opponents. It was brought about as a result of the direct intervention of the Vatican. Shortly before the afternoon session on December 7 the delegates of all the Catholic countries received virtually identical instructions to vote for it. Papal Nuncios in every capital made vigorous representations and received assurances of support. The Bolivian and Cuban delegates, who had proposed resolutions diametrically opposed to the Australian plan, were compelled to vote for the latter. Luxembourg, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica, intending to vote "no," were instructed to vote "yes." Mexico, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, Panama, and the Philippines, whose delegates saw the absurdity

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of the Australian resolution, were in the abstention column, as were Canada, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and India.

A shift of six votes could have prevented the Australian resolution from achieving the necessary two-thirds' majority in the plenary session. The Vatican steam-roller prevented this. Learning that the Philippines was about to shift from abstention to "no," Cardinal Spellman wired the President of the Philippines requesting an affirmative vote. Cardinal Spellman won. The delegate of one of the Benelux countries, seeking a change of instructions, was informed: "Sorry, the Cardinal insists you vote 'yes.'" Chile, under the same pressure, changed its negative vote to an abstention. Haiti, which had voted "no" in the Ad Hoc Committee, was pushed into the "yes" column, as was Venezuela, which had previously abstained. Mexico, instructed to vote affirmatively, abstained on all the paragraph votes, but when it was clear that the resolution would pass, followed its instructions. Countries like the Netherlands and New Zealand with large Catholic electorates, though opposed to the resolution, abstained. Other delegates voted in favor of the resolution for a variety of reasons: China, in retaliation against Israel for voting with the United States on the Chinese question (!), Greece because Israel had abstained in the vote calling for sanctions on Albania. New Delhi, in deference to India's large Moslem population, instructed its delegation, which was itself opposed to the resolution, to vote for it.

One of the most cynical acts was that of France. France repudiated the report it had signed as a member of the Conciliation Commission by casting its vote for the Australian proposal. It was lured by the hope of a return to power in the Middle East held before it by Ambassador Malik. Had France given up its historical rights in the city? he demanded on November 28. Were the government and people of France willing to answer the charge before history that they had failed to seize a unique opportunity to gain peacefully what had been the goal of a thousand years of fighting? France took the bait. Privately Ambassador Chauvel admitted that the resolution was very bad, that the Trusteeship Council could not possibly implement it, and that in the end a special session would have to be called.

The fight against the Australian resolution was carried by the delegations of Sweden and the Netherlands, with sporadic assistance from Uruguay, Guatemala, the United States, and Britain, and with tentative gestures by Bolivia and Cuba. But the chief burden rested on the shoulders of Israel. It was virtually alone in reminding the U. N. of the impossibility of turning the clock back, in pointing out that the men who were offering themselves as the protectors of the Holy Places were the same who had led the attack on them. Even the presence of Jordan as a recognized spokesman, only because its forces had seized and held the Holy Places, failed to arouse the delegates to the absurdity of their plan. And certainly they paid no attention to the thrice iterated declarations of Jordan that it would not accept internationalization. The Conciliation Commission staff, on whose work $850,000 was spent, and which strongly opposed the plan, was never consulted, nor was its proposal considered. Neither was General Riley, chief of the U. N. Armistice Commission, asked to give any advice, although he had been recalled to be on hand for this purpose.

LARGE responsibility for the final decision must be borne by the United States. To be sure, John Ross, the American representative, expressed vigorous opposition to the Australian proposal. But American action did not go beyond this. The delegation failed to offer a constructive proposal acceptable to both parties which could be a rallying point for votes. Although it twice expressed "satisfaction" with the Swedish proposal, it never accepted it as a substitute for the Conciliation Commission plan, to which the United States firmly adhered even when no chance remained of the plan's adoption.

Israel, sitting for the first time in a full session of the Assembly, can be forgiven for not realizing that procedures can determine the outcome of a discussion. But the American delegation cannot be excused. The lack of leadership by the United States was made more evident when in the Ad Hoc Committee, having heard what had gone on in the subcommittee, it failed to move for a decision which would have allowed consideration of other proposals. Had a proposal been made on December 5 assuring a different order of precedence in the voting, the Swedish-Netherlands proposal could have won a majority, since the Vatican steam-roller had not yet gone into action.

Although the Australians insist that the American delegation worked hard to defeat their proposal both in the Ad Hoc Committee and in the plenary session, this is difficult to credit. Nor is it easy to understand how, in a real test of influence as between the Vatican and the United States, countries like Liberia, Burma, Haiti, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Greece could have rejected the American position.

At four o'clock on Friday, December 9, an important member of the United States government told the writer that after a discussion with the State Department he was convinced the department was making no real effort to influence a single vote. Behind this attitude is the personal animus against Israel harbored by the left-overs of the Loy Henderson-Lovett period, whose machinations in every previous debate had been circumvented by the President. Secondly, there is the

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consideration that the current defeat on Jerusalem offers the State Department leverage to be used with Israel at some not too distant period to win concessions on other issues. Since the Jerusalem problem is bound to come up again, an attempt will doubtless be made to get these concessions in exchange for real support on Jerusalem.

Lending credence to this view was the American attitude on the question of financing internationalization. In the Budget Committee the American delegate, John Sherman Cooper, asked pertinent questions. Had the committee taken into account that its appropriations might not be sufficient in the event of opposition by Jordan and Israel? Had the Conciliation Commission been consulted? Answers to both questions were in the negative. Yet Cooper voted to recommend the figure of $8,150,000, which was based on a so-called "normal" situation. This was explained as purely a technical vote, having no political significance. In the plenary session John Ross, opposing internationalization, referred to its probably enormous cost and to the fact that Israeli expenditures in Jerusalem were four times the amount proposed to be allocated by the U. N. Yet when the appropriations came to a vote in the final session, the United States delegation was the only one opposed to the resolution which voted for the appropriation, and this in the knowledge that it would have to contribute 40 per cent.

When, in the last moments of yesterday's session, it appeared that Vatican pressure would assure victory for the Australian resolution, a belated effort was made by the delegations of Uruguay and Denmark to obtain postponement of the decision and to call a special session. The United States backed the proposal with its vote. Had it openly sponsored it, taken the floor to seek support, the outcome might have been different. Voting for the resolution in silence was not enough to secure its passage.

If a special session of the United Nations is held, the most that will emerge is a plan for protection of and freedom of access to the Holy Places. The present decision strikes hard at the prestige of the United Nations. It raises questions far exceeding in importance the ultimate solution of the Jerusalem question. Having once acknowledged the dominance of the Vatican, what assurance is there of freedom of discussion and decision by the international body on other issues in which the Vatican has an interest? The immediate problem the U. N. faces is to destroy the Vatican's power of coercion.

War in the Pentagon

II. ATOMIC STRATEGY IS OBSOLETE

BY MAX WERNER

TO THE layman the arguments in the recent battle fought jointly by the air force and the army against the navy may seem like a technical abracadabra used in a private quarrel among the services. Yet the hearing before the House Armed Services Committee was the most important debate on American strategy in years. To consider the matter merely a fight for prestige, strategic lead, and a share in the military budget would be distorting the facts. The issue was whether the atomic bomb is to become the very foundation and chief instrument of United States military policy. The conflict has gone on at least since 1946, and no solution is in sight.

That the navy hierarchy is traditionally conservative has nothing to do with this discussion. The air force and the army may have been right in saying that stress on sea power and sea strategy is out of place in the face of the Soviet continental power. Nor was the quarrel simply an expression of the competition between the super-carrier and the super-bomber, as it might have seemed to an outsider. What made it of tremendous public interest was not any special requirements of the navy but the assessment of the new strategic situation made by navy spokesmen.

In the opinion of the navy experts, modern military technology and combat conditions preclude a successful atomic strategy. The majority of naval witnesses before the House committee were not old sea wolves but technicians, engineers, fliers, gunners, and radar and guided-missile specialists. Basically the conflict was between two air forces—the official air force upholding the concept of offensive bombing and the navy's air force presenting the strength of modern air defenses.

It must be said that the navy experts refuted the widespread belief that modern super-technology favors

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the atomic attack. As a rule the argument runs this way: since the atomic bomb is a super-weapon, it will defeat the allegedly "static" and "conservative" land power; and since, in addition, the B-36 super-bomber has the virtues of long range and high altitude, it must deliver the bomb. Actually, modern super-technology favors air defense. The B-36 is no super-weapon. It is a slow, conventional, piston-engined plane to which the atomic bomb is attached. The navy experts could prove without difficulty that the modern air-defense weapons—radar, radar-controlled anti-aircraft artillery, jet fighters, and ground-to-air and air-to-air rockets—are superior to the slow B-36 bomber. They have the advantage of precise scouting capacity, striking power, and speed.

This is not the navy's own discovery; it is the opinion of aviation experts. Dr. Stefan Possony states in his outstanding volume "Strategic Air Power" that "the crisis of the heavy bomber is, in plain fact, a crisis of American air power, and accordingly a severe crisis of American national defense." And General J. L. Homer, commanding general of the Anti-Aircraft Artillery and Guided Missile Center, asserts that the ground-to-air rocket may doom the conventional bomber.

The point has been recently confirmed in Dr. Vannevar Bush's book "Modern Weapons and Free Men." Dr. Bush, highest United States government authority on modern weapons, comes to conclusions very close to those of the navy: that the raiding atomic bomber attacking from a long distance against modern air defenses cannot break through to the target. His thesis that super-weapons favor air defense discredits a strategy based on the atomic bomb.

SUMMING up these facts and observations, Admiral Radford declared that "the B-36 is useless defensively and inadequate offensively." (Meanwhile the navy experts, especially Commander Metzger and Commander Harrison, have reported that the Soviet air defenses are modern and effective.) Logic and technology were on the side of the navy. Admirals Blandy and Radford pointed out that the B-36 can carry out a bombing raid only at very high altitudes, and that this kind of bombing is inaccurate. Their conclusions are confirmed by the British aviation expert Commander J. B. Tait.

To be sure, aside from the experience of World War II, this point has not yet been tested in battle. The heavy bomber may be more or less effective in atomic war than has been calculated; the thin margin of difference is strategically not decisive. The slow, long-range bomber cannot win the war against a land power.

The navy had realistic strategic arguments on its side, too. The air force has not even pretended that the B-36 can win control of the air. Control of the air means the ability to break the enemy's air defenses; it means freedom of action in the skies after the battle against the enemy's fighters has been won. Winning this battle is not the job of the B-36. The B-36 must avoid the enemy fighters, not defeat them. It must strike by sneaking through, without fighter cover, because fighters cannot accompany it to its distant target. Thus it must reckon with the unbroken, and even increasing, power of the enemy's defenses and fighter planes. For the great prophet of air power, the Italian General Giulio Douhet, control of the air was "the ability to fly over the enemy's land in all directions, while the enemy was prevented from flying." Our air strategists, however, have maneuvered themselves into a situation where the defender will be flying in all directions, while the attacker will only try to break through, incidentally and unobserved, with single planes on single raids. This version of control of the air cannot work.

The navy's strategic view was that the air-atomic campaign could be only a slow, long war of attrition. Admirals Blandy and Halsey stressed that it would be primarily a war of siege. Admiral Ofstie added that since strategic-area bombing cannot be accurate, it would inflict only indiscriminate destruction that would have no military effect. Considering the depth of the Soviet spaces, the degree of dispersion of Soviet industries and resources, the stubbornness and the long-range planning of the Soviet defense—factors suicidally ignored by Hitler—these navy opinions are undoubtedly correct. The navy's strategists were right when they insisted that it is highly dangerous to play with the atomic war, since an atomic blitz is an impossibility. The army leadership also rules out an atomic blitz and is therefore closer to the navy on this question than to the air force; in this division is found the first sign of the coming split between the army and the air force. An irrational and unrealistic atomic strategy is bound to split the American military organization into many factions.

The navy leaders had the initiative and courage to inject political issues into the debate on atomic strategy. As military experts they understand the danger better than political leaders. They stressed that an atomic attack, which is not a military action and cannot achieve a military decision, would bring untold horror and chaos. They refused to accept responsibility for a disaster which would achieve no military objectives and would be beyond military control.

The navy leaders may have been motivated by bitterness against the air force and its extreme claims, by expert knowledge of facts, or by the acute sense of responsibility which sometimes prompts the old *élites*. But what they said against the air-atomic-war concept did not represent a narrow professional point of view, nor was it a desperate trick in defense of some particular interest. Americans cling to the illusion that while atomic warfare may be morally objectionable, it is technologically and strategically sound. Yet with the ex-

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ception of the United States Air Force, and possibly Winston Churchill, no one in the world believes that the atomic bomb can be decisive against the Soviet Union. Military experts of every nation have criticized air-atomic warfare from various angles. Among these critics are Britain's foremost expert on mechanization, General Fuller; its aviation experts J. B. Tait and McLean; American top atomic scientists; the American aviation experts Possony and De Seversky; Generals Eisenhower and Bradley; and Soviet military theorists. The navy joined this camp; it did not start it.

General Bradley

The Soviet atomic bomb has introduced a dramatic corrective into the discussion. This new and weighty fact was scarcely mentioned before the House Armed Services Committee, though it certainly should have been considered with all earnestness. Those who believe that the atomic bomb is a decisive weapon cannot pretend that the Soviet bomb is of no importance. As the *United States News and World Report* puts it, what our air force armed with the atomic bomb can do to the Soviet Union, the Soviet atomic-bomber force can do to the United States.

The united front of the air force and the army against the navy at the committee hearings was based on a common premise. Both General Vandenberg and General Bradley saw in the atomic bomb that additional element of strength which might tip the scales in favor of the United States. Both spoke of the bomb's "equalizing" capacity, meaning that it would make up for the relative weakness of American land power, neutralize Soviet army superiority. Such reasoning was obviously outdated; it ignored the Soviet explosion. As things stand now, the Soviet atomic bomb can neutralize the American atomic bomb, but the American atomic bomb cannot neutralize Soviet land power. It is clear that atomic damage must be written off by both sides. But atomic damage cannot knock out the land forces of a continental power.

IN SPITE of all appearances, the Congressional hearings did not bring the triumph of the atomic-air-power doctrine. The crisis in our atomic strategy is only beginning. The biggest upheavals in American military policy lie ahead. The navy's opposition was not the main threat to the air force's concept of atomic war. The split between the air force and the atomic experts and the smoldering dissension between army and air force are more important. Opposition to our atomic strategy is therefore not the private affair of the navy. The layman may believe that the navy is narrowly conservative —though it showed an amazing breadth of view at the hearings—but the atomic scientists are certainly neither old-fashioned nor short-sighted. They predicted with impressive accuracy when the Soviet Union would produce the atomic bomb.

What atomic scientists like Harold Urey, Leo Szilard, R. E. Lapp, and Philip Morrison are saying deserves our utmost attention. They think that the Soviet output of atomic bombs will soon come close to the American output. But they say that since the United States is more vulnerable, the Soviet Union will need fewer bombs, and therefore a bigger store of them affords the United States no strategic advantage. They insist that the use of the atomic bomb cannot be in the strategic interest of the United States.

The "atomic alliance" between the army and the air force is likely to be dissolved. When the army leaders and the air-force leaders speak of atomic weapons, they are speaking of different things. The army strategists mean a single weapon, while the air force thinks of a system of war, of the overwhelming weapon for strategic decision. On February 24, 1947, General Eisenhower, then Chief of Staff, said bluntly in an address at St. Louis, "I decry loose and sometimes gloating talk about the degree of security implicit in a weapon that might destroy millions overnight." He added: "Those who measure security solely in terms of offensive capacity distort its meaning and mislead those who pay them heed. No modern nation has ever equaled prior to the outbreak of war the crushing offensive power attained by the German war machine in 1939. No modern nation was ever broken and smashed as was Germany six years later." It is clear that he was warning against trust in the air-atomic offensive and blitz.

General Bradley attached to his testimony at the Congressional hearings his article in the *Saturday Evening Post*, in which he took to task those "who foolishly assume that the atomic bomb is omnipotent" and who advise us to "cut down heavily on such obsolete services as the army and the navy, and concentrate on the atomic bomb and the planes to deliver it." In the same article General Bradley demanded a strong tactical air force and a strong land army to defend Western Europe. Yet General Vandenberg's testimony was an argument against the concentration on tactical aviation and land power. Speaking against the navy, General Vandenberg aimed at the army. Sometime in the near future the fight between the concept of the big army and the concept of the big air force will flare up.

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Germany Rearmed—but Lightly

BY CAROLUS

Bonn, December 4

IT IS hard to give a true idea of what is happening in Germany through occasional articles sent by post. As in a swift-action film, the scene is constantly changing, and one event follows another with such headlong speed that it would scarcely be possible to keep up with them by radio. Sometimes it seems as if the film were being turned backward, or as if the principal actors had exchanged roles; even a person who knows the country thoroughly rubs his eyes in disbelief.

Take the great Social Democratic Party, which for eighty years has fought against war and militarism and for a German-French understanding. It now sports the moustachios of nationalism, while the old nationalists and militarists wear the garb of pacifism and internationalism as if they had never had other business on their docket. The thought of war chills the marrow of the German people; yet from Churchill to Clay the cry is being raised: "Create a German army," with the strange addition, "but give it only light weapons." Germans of all classes and all parties protest violently: the common people against the idea of an army; the former officers and unreconstructed militarists, against the *light* weapons. At any popular meeting a speaker is sure of applause if he opposes the creation of a new German army. Chancellor Adenauer, who at first forswore rearmament, at this writing seems to be shifting his position.

The treaty signed on November 22 at Petersberg outside Bonn, headquarters of the Allied High Commissioners, by McCloy, Robertson, and François-Poncet for the Allies and Chancellor Adenauer for the West German Federal Republic is one of the most important documents of the post-war period. It is nothing more or less then a provisional peace treaty. And Paragraph III says:

> The Federal Government further declares its earnest determination to maintain the demilitarization of the federal territory and to endeavor by all means in its power to prevent the re-creation of armed forces of any kind. To this end the Federal Government will cooperate fully with the High Commission in the work of the military-security board.

Dr. Adenauer read the text of this agreement with the Western powers to the Bonn Parliament, for the first time, on November 25. The heated debate that followed continued until six o'clock the next morning, when the House voted to bar Dr. Schumacher, the Socialist leader, from its sessions for the next twenty days. I intended to make this article an account of the bitter parliamentary battle between Adenauer and Schumacher, and had in fact already begun it when the radio announced the visit of the American Defense Minister, Mr. Johnson, and his chief of staff, General Bradley. Their visit so reduced the value of the above-quoted Paragraph III, and of all the solemn protestations of Adenauer and Acheson, that I changed my plan for my article.

At his press conference in Frankfurt Secretary Johnson twice asserted: "President Truman has said that the United States has no intention to rearm Germany. That is official United States policy, with no hedging and no dodging." But the next day, when he talked to the representatives of the press in Berlin, the Secretary did quite a lot of hedging and dodging. Germany, he said, must make its contribution to the defense of Western Europe. This elicited the following comment from one of the most influential German newspapers, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, in its lead article on November 29:

> History shows that great powers often change their minds, but seldom with such unconcealed haste as in the present instance. A fortnight ago the three Foreign Ministers of the Western Allies blamed Germany's militaristic spirit for all the woes of the century; and only two days ago the French National Assembly solemnly declared that under no conditions would the rearming of Germany be permitted. Now the Western press is occupied with the question of how the rearming of Germany is to be carried out. When Germans read about this, they get a strange feeling. Most of them are terrified to see a specter they thought had vanished forever in 1945 drawing near again. Others are bewildered by the naivete of the West, which imagines that it can dispose of Germany's young men without asking them or the German people for their consent. Whether the Western powers think these future German divisions will be worth much without the "militaristic spirit" so strongly condemned a fortnight before is for the present their secret. . . . The first object of German policy must be to convince the world that the German nation does not want to be rearmed.

This is no isolated expression of opinion. On the contrary, it represents the popular view. Whatever the virtues or faults of the German masses, there is one thing they definitely do not want, and that is to have the militarists regain control. Their present political unrest stems from fear of such a development. The meet-

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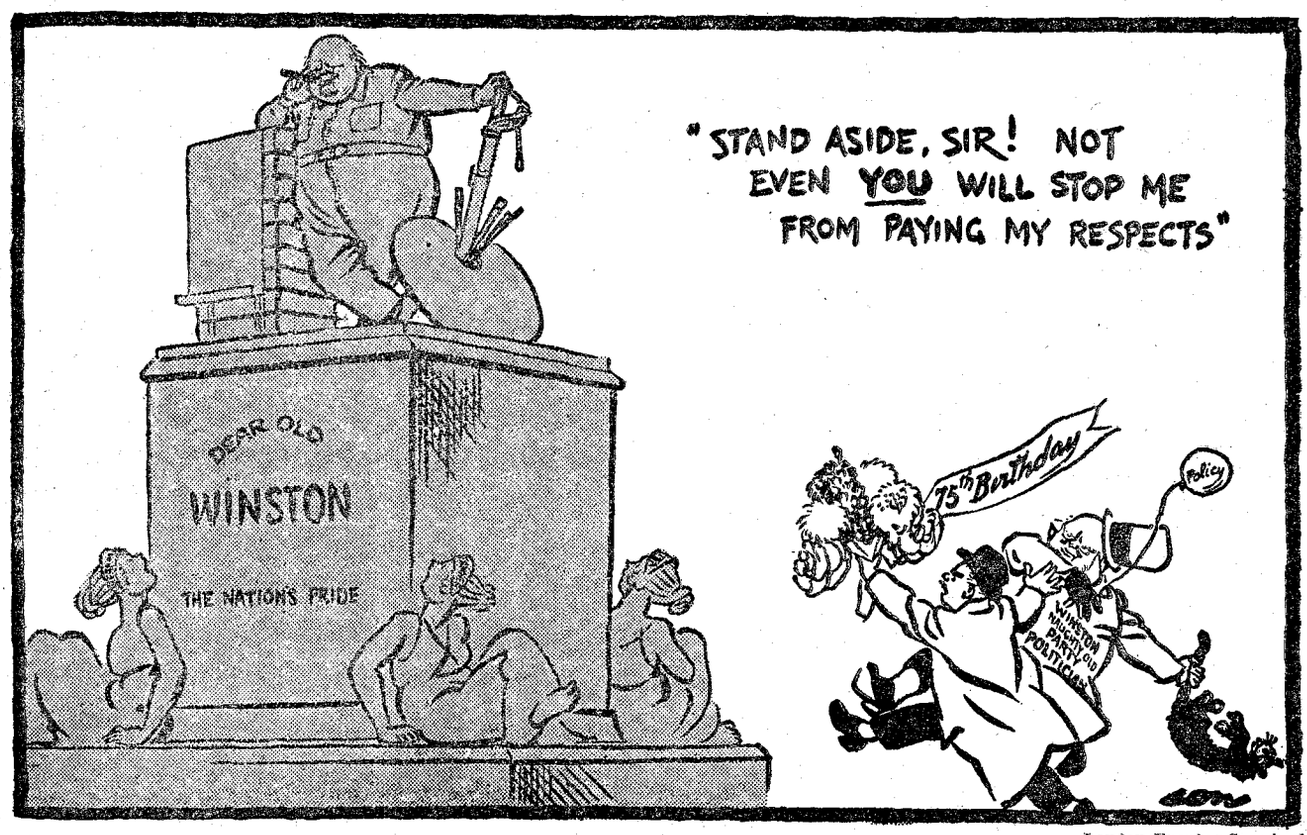
ing of the three Foreign Ministers in Paris on November 9 and 10 first aroused their anxiety on this score. Nothing could be learned about the discussions or their results. From Paris Secretary Acheson flew to Bonn. Between November 10 and 15 Dr. Adenauer was negotiating with the High Commissioners at Petersberg. Meanwhile the opposition in Parliament was demanding a debate on foreign policy, and the Chancellor and his majority were refusing to allow one. The veil of secrecy over the proceedings at Petersberg was pierced only once, when Dr. Adenauer revealed in an interview given to a representative of the Baltimore *Sun* that he had asked, among other things, for foreign capital to contribute 40 per cent of the investment in the Ruhr industries. When the parliamentary debate finally took place, it exhausted itself in generalities.

The preamble of the provisional peace treaty signed on November 22 said: "The primary objective of the Federal Republic is to be accepted as a peaceable member of the European community." In the words of the *Industriekurier*, organ of German heavy industry, the treaty represented the "option" of the Federal Republic for the West; it set the seal on the political and economic separation of West Germany from Russian-dominated East Germany.

Discussion of the rewards the Federal Republic expects to receive for having "opted" for the West must be reserved for another article. What I want to emphasize here is that Dr. Adenauer had no authorization from the West German Parliament to conclude a treaty with the Allies, that in fact the Parliament knew nothing about the treaty until two days after it was signed. Yet Paragraph V of the document itself reads:

> The Federal Government affirms its resolve as a freely elected democratic body to pursue unreservedly the principles of freedom, tolerance, and humanity which unite the nations of Western Europe and to conduct its affairs according to those principles. The Federal Government is firmly determined to eradicate all traces of National Socialism from German life and institutions and to prevent the revival of totalitarianism in this or any form. It will seek to liberalize the structure of government and to exclude authoritarianism.

After signing the treaty, which included this paragraph, Adenauer's first act was to violate it by presenting it to the Parliament as an accomplished fact. His conduct also violated the West German constitution, which expressly provides that any foreign treaty must be approved by a majority of Parliament. From the moment his so-called democratic and parliamentary government was installed he has pursued his authoritarian way. Is this leading the German nation back into the community of peaceful, freedom-loving nations? A good half of the Chancellor's majority is made up of thoroughly reactionary deputies backed and urged on by the same evil forces which Germany and Europe can thank for their present lamentable situation. When the West German Parliament was denied the chance to approve or reject the treaty of Petersberg, the constitution of the republic was treated as a scrap of paper. The German divisions that are to be formed, no matter how "lightly armed," will tear it into smaller scraps.



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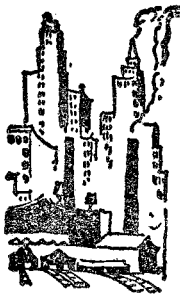

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Off the Rails, II

AMERICAN railroads, when exposed to criticism as they often are, retort with a long recital of grievances. In their symphony of woe two major themes, embroidered with numerous variations, can be distinguished. First, one hears an involved complaint about the failure of the Interstate Commerce Commission to give the carriers their just dues; second, a denunciation of various forms of unfair competition fostered by the government.

The Transportation Act of 1920, rail spokesmen never tire of reminding us, instructed the ICC to "initiate, modify, establish, or adjust rates so that the carriers as a whole will earn a fair return upon the aggregate value of railroad property." Thus the commission had to find answers for two intricate questions: What is "a fair return"? How is the rate basis, the real value of railroad property, to be determined? No satisfactory solution for the second of these conundrums was ever achieved because efforts to complete a physical valuation of the railroads were, in effect, halted when the Supreme Court invalidated the principles on which the ICC had been proceeding.

For the years 1921 and 1922 the "fair return" was set at 6 per cent and was then reduced to 5¾ per cent. Later, after passage of the Emergency Transportation Act of 1933, attempts to establish a specific target were abandoned. Neither percentage, railroaders contend, was high enough from the point of view of providing profits attractive to equity capital. Moreover, only in one year between 1921 and 1947 was a return greater than 6 per cent actually earned; the average for the period was no more than 3.62 per cent. Consequently the railroads have been continually handicapped in raising new capital and so prevented from cutting costs by improving their equipment to the fullest extent technically possible.* If the carriers are now in a bad way, the fault, it is claimed, lies with the ICC, which on one excuse or another has consistently failed to permit a scale of charges high enough to produce adequate profits.

A neutral in this squabble may be allowed to suggest perhaps that the ICC was assigned an almost impossible task. One difficulty was that rates high enough to give Class I roads an average return of 5¾ or 6 per cent would have permitted companies in a particularly favorable position to earn unconscionable profits. The 1920 act had anticipated this problem by providing for "recapture" of excess earnings, but the clause became a dead letter after the collapse of the ICC's attempts to assess proper capitalization.

Again, in authorizing maximum rail charges, the ICC was supposed to take some account of what the traffic would bear and to guard against discrimination. Since 1920, alternative forms of transport have been steadily taking business from the railroads, and as a result rate increases often cause further losses in traffic, followed by new claims for compensatory increases. Of course it could be argued that the remedy was to give the carriers their maximum demands and then allow them a free hand to cut rates when necessary to meet competition. However, the effect of such a policy would have been to burden those shippers who, because of the nature of their trade or their location, remained solely dependent on rail transport. It would have meant, probably, penalizing long-distance bulk freight, such as coal and steel, and giving the benefit of cut rates to short hauls of light goods, a form of traffic for which trucks could compete with peculiar keenness.

The railroads complain that not only have they been restricted in trying to overcome competition but their competitors have been fattened on government bounty. It seems to me that kicks on this score have considerable justification. The case is strongest, perhaps, in respect of the inland waterways and domestic air lines, both of which depend heavily on subsidies. Waterways, of course, have traditionally been favored in pork-barrel politics, and much of the estimated $3,000,000,000 of public money spent on improving them to date represents an investment hard to defend on economic grounds. Shippers of bulk goods with easy access to the waterways are the main beneficiaries; the taxpayers meet a large part of their costs. Thus large oil companies are the chief users of the toll-free, tax-supported New York State barge canal, for which operating and capital charges amount to some $12,000,000 annually.

The newest form of subsidized competition with which the railroads have to contend is that of the domestic air lines. These enjoy two kinds of public support: they are provided with airports and other facilities at below cost, and they receive mail payments in amounts that the railroads regard as grossly disproportionate to the service they render. In the fiscal year 1948, for example, the air lines collected some $41,000,000 for carrying 6 per cent of the first-class mail; the railroads' fee for toting the rest was a little over $26,000,000. Altogether, it has been estimated, federal aid to the air lines adds up to something like 75 cents for every dollar of passenger revenue.

The case of the railroads against truck and bus competition is that these forms of transport derive an unfair advantage from "tracks" provided out of public funds. However, at the present time road users as a body contribute by way of gasoline taxes, license fees, excise duties on cars, and so forth a sum larger than federal and local expenditure on highways. It may be, of course, that the bill is unfairly distributed, with trucks and buses paying too little and private cars too much. That is the claim, not easily proved or disproved, of both railroads and automobile clubs, which thus find themselves in strange alliance. But it is doubtful whether a shift in the incidence of highway taxes from private to commercial users would do the carriers much good. While it might curb truck and bus competition slightly, it could also stimulate automobile travel, a major factor in the steadily declining trend of the railroads' passenger traffic, which even now is their least profitable division.

*However, when outsiders like myself talk about railroad obsolescence, the charge is resented, and masses of statistics are brought forward to prove that, in fact, operating efficiency has increased enormously since 1920.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

"The Saturday Review" Unfair to Literature

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

IN ANOTHER COLUMN appears a letter to the *Saturday Review of Literature,* signed by eighty-four people representing a wide range of academic and literary opinion, which the *Saturday Review* has, to all intents and purposes, refused to print. The editors, of course, refrained from an outright and straightforward refusal. Instead, they fought a delaying action, spinning specious arguments and making ridiculous conditions. After three weeks, due notice having been given that evasion beyond that period would be taken as refusal, the letter was offered to *The Nation* for publication.

The letter is a protest against two articles by Robert Hillyer which were published in the *Saturday Review* last June. Mr. Hillyer's articles were ostensibly a righteous attack in the name of patriotism on the award of the Bollingen Prize to Ezra Pound. They were in fact a philistine attack on modern literature, and especially on modern poetry and poets, in which Hillyer resorted to the political and demagogic device of guilt by association in order to demonstrate that the practitioners of the "new criticism" and of modern poetry have fascist tendencies. The articles had another purport—namely, that poetry which the "common man" cannot understand is undemocratic—which I found even more shocking and dangerous. The appeal to the mob and the invitation to censorship which are implicit in this view are, indeed, sometimes referred to as fascist.

The editors of the *Saturday Review of Literature* backed up Mr. Hillyer's attacks in flaming editorials, and though they printed retractions of a number of his specific misstatements, their support of his vague and really monstrous charges remained firm. They got what they apparently wanted: a journalistic sensation and, God help us, a proposal for a Congressional investigation of the "plot" that Hillyer adumbrated. Fortunately, this proposal was later dropped, but the Bollingen award was discontinued—and a great many innocent readers were no doubt misled into believing that a poem which they cannot understand at the first reading is a plot against democracy.

It is easy to understand why a magazine which makes its living from literature hesitates to print a repudiation of its attitude toward literature from eighty-four competent workers in the field. It is harder to understand how it could fail to feel obligated to print the letter. The arguments of the editors are interesting if not convincing. They said that they had already printed letters covering the points brought up in the present communication. They said that the controversy had long since been brought to a close. They labeled the letter a "petition" and said that "that being the case" it would be necessary to list all those writers who had been approached but had refused to indorse the "petition"!

The controversy is not closed. It is not that sort of controversy. *Poetry* has just issued a booklet called "The Case Against the *Saturday Review of Literature*" ($1) which I hope will be widely read. It contains the answer of the Fellows of the Library of Congress, several articles which have appeared in various publications, and letters criticizing Hillyer's position from Archibald MacLeish, Mark Van Doren, and others. The Yale *Literary Magazine* has just got out an issue called the *Shattering Review of Literature,* a shattering and amusing take-off which includes recantations from "T. S. Elliott" and "Earnest Hemmingway." I suspect that the controversy will go on for some time.

CERTAINLY it is unfortunate that much of the best modern poetry is difficult for many people at first reading, however rewarding it may be at the second and third. But the reasons for this difficulty of communication are not to be found, as Mr. Hillyer would ridiculously have it, in the wilful, "anti-democratic" determination of poets to be obscure. They lie deep in a cultural situation in which the commercialization and the cheapening of literature, along with other historical and social factors, have widened the rift between the artist and the public that has existed since the Republic was founded. A magazine which exploits this separation by pitting the artist and the public against each other rather than attempting to explain and heal the breach has no right to carry the word literature on its masthead.

"A PREPARED ATTACK"

The Editors,
The Saturday Review of Literature

Sirs: The literary and political values of the poetry of Ezra Pound offer wide latitudes of support and opposition, as all poetry does in one degree or another. Discussion of the Bollingen award in these terms was to be welcomed.

But the methods employed by Robert Hillyer in the recent attacks published in your pages (June 11 and 18, 1949), and supported by your several editorials, are in our opinion reprehensible, in the following terms:

Under pretense of attacking the award of the Bollingen Prize to Ezra Pound, you sanctioned and guided a prepared attack on modern poetry and criticism, impugning not only the literary reputations but the personal characters of some of its foremost writers. In this blanket attack you included persons not connected with the award in any capacity, as well as its donor. Through the technique of the smear and of "guilt by association" you linked the names of T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, Paul Mellon, and Carl Jung, and adumbrated a fascist conspiracy, for which you did not produce the evidence, and by implication you included in this attack not only certain of the Fellows in American Letters of the Library of Congress but also a larger group of unnamed writers who were participating in the "conspiracy." We submit that public decency, to say nothing of personal honor—two indispensable standards of democratic action—required you, in view of the gravity of the charges, to name specifically all the accused persons. Considering the number of printed retractions and apologies in subsequent issues of your journal, we are forced to believe that your critical examination of the validity of Robert Hillyer's allegations, before you published them, was somewhat less than

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disinterested, and that thus your campaign was conducted in a dangerous and unprincipled manner.

We therefore protest against the methods of your attack, which in our opinion has violated the standards of responsible literary controversy, and thus has dealt a blow to American culture.

James Agee, Newton Arvin, Joseph Warren Beach, Joseph D. Bennett, John Berryman, Dorothy Bethurum, R. P. Blackmur, Harvey Breit, Cleanth Brooks, James Burnham, Hayden Carruth, Richard Chase, Frederick Mortimer Clapp, W. T. Couch, Malcolm Cowley, Louis O. Coxe, R. S. Crane, E. E. Cummings, J. V. Cunningham, * Francis Fergusson, Robert Fitzgerald, John Gould Fletcher, F. Cudworth Flint, Wallace Fowlie, Joseph Frank, Brewster Ghiselin, Francis R. B. Godolphin, Clement Greenberg, B. H. Haggin, Stanley Edgar Hyman, Randall Jarrell, Thomas H. Johnson, Alfred Kazin, Weldon Kees, Lincoln Kirstein, Adrienne Koch, Louis Kronenberger, Harry Levin, Andrew Lytle, Dwight Macdonald, Maynard Mack, Margaret Marshall, Richard McKeon, William Meredith, Josephine Miles, Arthur Mizener, Samuel H. Monk, Frederick Morgan, Howard Nemerov, Whitney J. Oates, William Van O'Connor, Elder Olson, J. E. Palmer, John Pick, J. F. Powers, Henry Rago, Philip Rahv, I. A. Richards, Ralph Gilbert Ross, Mark Schorer, Delmore Schwartz, Charles S. Singleton, Robert Wooster Stallman, Donald A. Stauffer, James Johnson Sweeney, Peter Taylor, Virgil Thomson, Diana Trilling, Lionel Trilling, William Troy, Rosemond Tuve, Leonard Unger, Mark Van Doren, Eliseo Vivas, Austin Warren, Glenway Wescott, Ray B. West, Jr., John Hall Wheelock, Philip Wheelwright, Oscar Williams, W. K. Wimsatt, Jr., Yvor Winters, Stark Young, Morton Dauwen Zabel.

** Mr. John Dos Passos authorizes the publication of a separate statement:*

Westmoreland, Virginia
October 26, 1949

Since I haven't followed the controversy over the award of the Bollingen Prize to Ezra Pound it would be hard for me to make any specific statement about it. This much I can say, however: I thought that the award to a poet who, although erratic to the point of insanity, still remains one of the masters of English prosody showed great courage and a feeling for the solidarity of the republic of letters pretty unique in the world today. I can say this in spite of the fact that I have only aversion for Ezra Pound's political notions and no personal affection for his work. I sincerely hope that there will arise enough defenders of the great humane concept which in my opinion underlay the decision of the committee that made the award, to shout down its detractors.

John Dos Passos

B. H. Haggin

MUSIC IN THE NATION. By B. H. Haggin. William Sloane Associates. $5.

THIS is a collection of some of the best essays of one of the best critics alive. Mr. Haggin is, as anybody can see, a born critic: the reader of "Music in *The Nation*" gets to observe something rare and wonderful, a man who is doing exactly what he was put in the world to do. Mr. Haggin is more interested in saying precisely what he thinks about a composer or performer, in representing as accurately as possible the quality and value of what he hears, than he is in anything else whatsoever: consequently he is a sort of exemplary monster of independence, of honesty, of scrupulous and merciless frankness. His taste is traditional and classical in the best senses of the words—as you can see if you make a list of the musicians and composers he likes best and writes about most often; you cannot call it catholic, because of his real disinclination for experimentalism (in music, that is; outside of music his favorite contemporaries seem to be Picasso and Balanchine).

Inside its limits Mr. Haggin's taste has extraordinary consistency and rigor—and it is not distorted by having friends or enemies, by being part of any movement, by needing to like or dislike some work in order to prove something. Even his errors—by *errors* I mean simply those views which he doesn't persuade his reader to agree with, either in the beginning or in the end—usually seem reasonable and consistent errors, the more or less inevitable results of looking at the world from this particular point of view: "Notice the fine warp," as the lady in the antique shop said of the table. Few living critics have been so exclusively concerned with intrinsic values; have worked so unremittingly and undeviatingly to maintain the highest standards of excellence in an art.

Mr. Haggin has an unobtrusive mastery of a sort of completely organized, completely functional exposition or description that is comparatively uncommon in criticism, since it goes almost unrecognized, and is difficult and laborious to write; not many writers can say better exactly what they want to say. To have a style and never to be carried away by it—what a gift! Mr. Haggin is a witty writer, too: "Astounding that in 1912 Fry should have prophesied those paintings of Stalin Halting the Cowardly Flight of Trotsky from the Battlefield of Tsaritsin, Stalin Demonstrating to the Leningrad Academy of Sciences that $E=mc^2$, Ivan the Terrible Gently Admonishing His Son for Cutting Off the Ears of His Pet Rabbit—and their musical counterparts." These make the point as well as it could be made; and there's something additional, a good there for its own sake. Mr. Haggin writes a clear, vigorous, exact, and efficient prose—one that is as personal and characteristic as can be, without trying to be either—that can rise to surprising heights of enthusiasm or exasperation. He writes about Toscanini so that for a moment you believe that you are seeing and hearing and feeling Toscanini conduct—no one else has done half so well—and his description of "Le Baiser de la fée" must have made Balanchine himself run to the theater to make sure that it was really that good. As for exasperation: I don't know which of the *virtuosi*, musicologists, or American composers in these pages has the most frightening verisimilitude. And yet not one of these unfavorable essays is as notable as any of twenty or thirty favorable ones: moving and serious evocations of masterpieces, of composers and musicians at their greatest—essays full of a real forgetfulness of self, of anything at all but their subjects, that make one remember Goethe's "In the face of the great superiority of another person there is no means of safety but love."

All Mr. Haggin's unfavorable pieces seem necessary and useful: taste has to be maintained (or elevated, if it's at too low a level to make maintenance bearable), and there is no other way of doing it. His detailed, thoroughly explained, thoroughly persuasive objections to some of the great virtuoso performances of the day—those of Horowitz, Heifetz, Stokowski, and so on—must have been particularly valuable; and his pieces on the lapses and ex-

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cesses of the really great have made his eulogies of their triumphs even more convincing than they would otherwise have been. His remarks about several bad critics are no more—far less—than they deserve; and his paragraphs or essays about Tovey, Dent, Turner, Virgil Thomson, Shaw, Lambert, and Sullivan are admiring and convincing enough to send many additional readers to their books. (Too unqualifiedly admiring, once: I grew up on Shaw's criticism; and neither my delight in it nor Mr. Haggin's admiration for it can make me forget passages like that wonderful one in which Shaw—after telling how Mozart bathed in the Rhine by moonlight to get those "airs from Heaven and blasts from Hell" of which "Don Giovanni" is full—implores his readers not to let this romanticism, mesmeric as it is, win them away from the everyday matter-of-fact realism of the "Ring.")

One of the most appealing and amusing sections of "Music in *The Nation*" is one (indexed as Stravinsky, Igor: change in author's response to, 311) which begins: "Some of the kind of music by Stravinsky in which I used to hear only 'expertly contrived aridity and ugliness' I have recently begun to find interesting and enjoyable; and nobody could be more surprised at this than myself." Balanchine's choreography acted as a catalyst for the process, as Mr. Haggin watched and heard, again and again, "Danses Concertantes" and "Le Baiser de la fée"; and before long he found himself liking, almost as much, unaccompanied Stravinsky—and late Stravinsky at that, not the earlier he had always liked. This sort of admission of error, of change, makes us trust a critic as nothing else but omniscience could; but in this case it makes one wish, very hard, that Balanchine had written ballets to a couple of scores by Bartók: that is, it makes one feel that there is a certain amount of other modern music that Mr. Haggin would find interesting and enjoyable if he had listened to it enough, *without judgment*, to become as thoroughly familiar with it as he is with "Danses Concertantes." This certainly hasn't been one of the great ages of music: one has a real sympathy for Mr. Haggin's lack of sympathy with it; but one can't help feeling that a critic who likes the Stravinsky that Mr. Haggin likes, and the Prokofiev First Violin Concerto, and who writes so well about "Das Lied von der Erde," *ought* to like as wonderful a piece as Bartók's First Quartet.

Since "Music in *The Nation*" treats —with equal penetration, style, and conviction—everything from Mozart's financial circumstances to the nature and responsibilities of criticism, it is not a book of whose subject-matter one is likely to tire. I've read most of these pieces, here or in *The Nation*, enough times to feel safe in saying that it is a book that particularly repays rereading. A critic like Mr. Haggin writes best about the composers he likes most: one thinks immediately of Beethoven, of Schubert (especially the late works), of Haydn, of Berlioz, and—first and last of all—of Mozart. Who else has conveyed so well the quality, range, and value of those wonderful contemporary works of art, the ballets of George Balanchine? And one can say something similar about the performances of several of those artists whom Mr. Haggin writes about again and again: Schnabel, Szigeti, Toscanini, Beecham, the Budapest Quartet, Landowska, Casals, Lotte Lehmann, Elisabeth Schumann, Aitken, Markova, Danilova. No one is likely to undervalue a critic who has written about these great artists, and their arts, with such seriousness, insight, and love.

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Heywood Broun—and Pegler

HEYWOOD BROUN. By Dale Kramer. A. A. Wyn. $3.50.

ACCORDING to Mr. Kramer, when Roy Howard unveiled Westbrook Pegler in his first column in the *World-Telegram* in 1933, he gave him this send-off: "He has the drollery of Ring Lardner, the iconoclasm of Henry Mencken, the homely insight of Will Rogers." In his third column this droll, homely iconoclast not only condoned the lynching and mutilation of two men accused of kidnapping a Santa Clara University student in California, but joined with Governor Rolph of that state in saying that the lynching should be "a fine lesson for the whole nation."

It was the general opinion in New York city rooms, as Mr. Kramer notes in his interesting book, that the jittery Howard and Lee Wood, executive editor of the *World-Telegram*, had brought the ineffable Pegler on from Chicago to be used as a rod in pickle against Heywood's extra-curricular activities in organizing the Newspaper Guild. Pegler had been a sports writer for the Chicago *Tribune* when he was sent abroad by that paper on a roving assignment. He wrote about international events between the wars in terms of professional baseball. He took a firm stand against Hitler. This remains his farthest North in liberalism. Kramer is right when he says that Pegler was badly scared when he was put up there among the "think writers." Broun publicly reprimanded him for his unspeakable lynch column, which roused decent indignation all across the country, but after that Heywood, who always had a tender spot in his great heart for any newspaperman, did his best to alibi Pegler on the ground that the latter didn't know the score as yet and was really a good guy under the tough-boy make-up. Pegler dogged Broun from

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one night-spot to another, obviously thrilled by the vicarious glory of being seen in such celebrated company. His appearance was always accompanied by low groans among Broun's real friends, who warned him that this distressing character was secretly making fun of him, calling him "Old Bleeding Heart" and questioning his radical integrity. This only served to develop a stubborn streak in Heywood, who could be the most stubborn of men. He not only insisted on introducing Pegler to a circle of civilized persons who would no more have received Pegler on his own than they would have taken to their bosoms "I Break Strikes" Pearl Bergoff, but he also arranged for Pegler to buy himself a place among the writers in Fairfield County, Connecticut, an act which some folks in Fairfield held against Broun to his dying day.

It was not until shortly before his death at the age of fifty-one in 1939 that Broun was finally convinced of the perfidy of Westbrook Pegler. The latter wrote a column accusing Heywood, falsely, of course, of running a non-union shop to print his little newspaper hobby, the *Nutmeg*. Then Heywood sat down and took the hide off Pegler. He did it so effectively that to this day the raw spots still show, as was indicated by the nasty column Pegler wrote the other day attacking a dead man who had done all in his power to save him from his own ingrown malignity.

In his biography of Broun, Dale Kramer has handled a difficult assignment in a workmanlike fashion that would have met with Broun's approval. Incidentally, he was wise, I think, to avoid the psychoanalytical openings which Broun's leftist career so obviously exposed.

I would recommend this good book even if I didn't appear in it quite frequently. My longest and questionably honorable mention has to do with the time when I was managing Heywood's campaign for Congress on the Socialist ticket in New York's silk-stocking district. Mr. Kramer tells at some length how I got tight and insulted a lot of stuffed shirts at the Algonquin, and how Heywood saved the day for me and for the party as well by an act of characteristic kindness, the sort of thing which made him so beloved by all sorts and conditions of his fellow-men. When I think of a thing like Pegler—but I have a heart condition and they tell me I shouldn't get excited.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

Verse Chronicle

ANCIENT, medieval, and modern. The ancient, this time, is represented by Sophocles' "Oedipus Rex," in translation by Dudley Fitts and Robert Fitzgerald (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50). Since Messrs. Fitts and Fitzgerald have previously rendered the "Antigone," and Mr. Fitzgerald the "Oedipus at Colonus," with this translation the Theban cycle is completed. Their method has been to heighten the horror of the tragedy by avoiding the grandiose in its language. Translators always run risks; reading this version, one is not entirely sure whether the scrupulous avoidance of high rhetoric has not sometimes led to banal commonplaceness. It might be easier to judge were the play given stage production.

From medieval days we have "The Goliard Poets," their songs, their satires, with the original Latin facing new verse translations by George F. Whicher (New Directions, $7.50). The Goliard Poets were the most delightful scamps imaginable; nobody can fail to be fond of them, and Dr. Whicher presents their work with a combination of sound scholarship and infectious gaiety. He does better with some of the translations than Helen Waddell has done, but nobody need draw invidious distinctions. The lover of Miss Waddell's "Medieval Latin Lyrics" should also have on his shelves Dr. Whicher's "Goliard Poets." For one thing, many of the poems in the latter collection are here translated for the first time; for another, the text is embellished with delightful woodcut illustrations; for another, rejoicing is scarce enough these days, and here be rascals, ladies, and verses to rejoice in.

Coming to our own time, "100 Modern Poets" (Pelligrini and Cudahy, $2.75) are presented in a selection, with an introduction, awfully thoughtful and serious, and a little too impressed, by Selden Rodman. The selection's scope is wide: Franz Kafka and Norman Mailer both appear as poets; there are not only American writers, and the British, but also Europeans, and Latin Americans. For example, picking out every fifth name from the table of contents, we get Rilke, Kafka, Mayakovsky, Neruda, Pasternak, Hopkins, Eliot, Faulkner, Stein, Rukeyser; that takes us halfway through the book, and should be enough to give the idea. Mr. Rodman himself has done many of the translations. An interesting job; but don't believe every word of it.

"The New Poetry Series presents each year three volumes of verse by significant new poets who have not previously published book-length collections." The publisher of this series is Allan Swallow, who lives in Denver; the attractively made little books in the 1949 series are John Pauker's "Yoked by Violence," Donald F. Drummond's "No Moat, No Castle," and "The Broken Landscape," by John Williams. These books are priced at $2 apiece.

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or $5 for all three. Hoping that Mr. Swallow does not lose his shirt on this venture, I would urge readers, at least those who do not know what to give for Christmas, to order the set. Mr. Pauker's volume seems to me the most interesting of the three books; this writer has some learning, imagination, wit, ear, and a tendency, occasionally, to push the detail of a conceit farther along into catalogue than it can really stand. Mr. Drummond has been a student of Yvor Winters, whose disciples, it seems to me, are sometimes too impressed by the maestro's insistence on precision of form, and thereby led into effects altogether too metronomic. In comparison with the other two books, that of Mr. Williams seems to me only average young poetry. For the series' sake, Mr. Swallow, I think, should try, next year, for a little more variety.

Another new house, Twayne Publishers, with an address at 42 Broadway, New York, also intends to specialize in the publication of poetry. New talent is encouraged by the offer of a $100 advance against royalties in an annual First Book Contest, which was this year won by Marshall Schacht, whose book has not yet come to hand. I wish I could wish this house as well as I do Mr. Swallow's, but their editorial judgment seems to me less enterprising and ambitious, their books less attractively made, and their jackets, in particular, excessively profuse and tiresome in their thick lineage. Their young poets seem pretty middle-aged and their work pretty middling: the latest offering is Dr. Merrill Moore's "Clinical Sonnets" ($2.50); "This prodigious sonneteer," so they say, "makes history once more with the publication" of these. Want to bet? No moat, no castle here, in my opinion; neither form, nor wit, and altogether a waste of newsprint.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THROUGH the kindness of Elaine Music Shop I am able to report on several Discophiles français recordings for readers interested in sixteenth-century vocal polyphony. One set of records (No. 24) offers motets by Lassus; another (No. 26) motets by Victoria—all of them lovely music to the ear, though not the most engaging to my mind by its expressive power, and well sung by the vocal ensemble of M. Couraud. Also, two sets (Nos. 20 and 28) offer madrigals by Monteverdi, including (in No. 28) the well-known "Lagrime d'Amante al Sepolcro dell' Amata," which I found very beautiful and moving when I heard it years ago, but not this time. The one piece which struck me with its musical and expressive power this time was the "Lasciatemi morire" in No. 20.

On the other hand, the English madrigals on two sets of HMV records (C-3739/44 and 3745/50) I have found enchanting; and some—e.g., Weelkes's "Say, dear, when will your frowning," Wilbye's "Draw on, sweet night," Gibbons's "What is our life?" and "The silver swan" in the first set; Tomkins's "When David heard that Absolom was slain," Gibbons's "Dainty fine bird," Pilkington's "Care for thy soul" in the second—are not only amazingly beautiful in their somber richness of texture and harmony, but deeply moving. The singing of the Cambridge University Madrigal Society under Boris Ord in the first set and part of the second is ravishing; and equally fine, in the remainder, is the singing of the group of four or five solo voices headed by Isobel Baillie.

As for domestic releases of choral music, Capitol has issued an LP dubbing (P-8004) of a Telefunken recording of Bruckner's Mass in E minor made by the Hamburg Opera Chorus and Orchestra under M. Thurn. It renews my earlier impression of the work and of Bruckner as a composer of religious music. In the symphonies we get short-breathed straining pretentiousness without even Brahms's ability to achieve the mere external appearance of continuity in large-scale utterance; but the Mass is an example of the beautifully written and effective music that proceeds from Bruckner's religious feeling and forms itself around the religious words. I imagine the sound of the original performance must have been better than the rather shallow, dim, and occasionally shrill sound from this record.

From Allegro there is an LP record (AL-10) of a number of Bach chorales sung by the Pro Musica Choral Society under Crane Calder. The singing is good, except for a quavering soprano; and it is well reproduced, but with some noises and flutters.

I reported last June on a Cetra-Soria LP dubbing (LP-1001) of the recording of the De Sabata performance of Mozart's Requiem—that the wavering pitch of some sides of the American pressings of the original recording had been eliminated, but that the sound was muffled. I have just tried a recent pressing of what sounds like a new LP dubbing—one, that is, whose sound is bright. It is also altered from the original, and less good; and even someone who hasn't heard the original will be aware of the slight coarseness, the noisy brilliance at the climaxes; but these will not be enough to spoil the experience of the wonderful work and performance; and after all they are balanced by the freedom from wavering pitch and the quieter surfaces.

I haven't been able to compare Cetra-Soria's LP dubbing (LP-1202) with the original recording of portions of Haydn's "The Seasons"; but I can report that its sound is bright enough and wholly agreeable. The music is very fine; the singing excellent.

The sound of Columbia's LP version of Berlioz's Requiem (SL-159) is less good than that of the original recording; but again the difference is not enough to spoil the experience of this great work.

On 78 r.p.m. records Columbia has issued a volume of Christmas carols beautifully sung by the Mount Holyoke College Glee Club under Ruth Douglass (MM-856, 3 12"), which I like better than the volume of carols sung by the Celebrity Quartet: Isobel Baillie, Gladys Ripley, John McHugh and Harold Williams (MM-857, 3 10").

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BOOKS OF 1949: A SELECTED LIST

MISCELLANEOUS

The American Guide. Edited by Henry G. Alsberg. Hastings House. $7.50.
Chips off the Old Benchley. By Robert Benchley. Harper. $3.
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[*This is the third part of Books of 1949. The first and second parts appeared in the issues of December 3 and 10.*]

Letters to the Editors

Exchange Department

Dear Sirs: My mother has just been reading the *Star Weekly* and she saw your address. I would like you to try and get me a pen-friend. If you could get me a girl I will be pleased—age ten. My address is 61 Catterick Road, Didsbury, Manchester 20, Lancashire. I remain, yours faithfully,

MISS ANNE SCOULER
Manchester, England, November 20

No Evidence

Dear Sirs: In a letter in your issue of November 26 J. Reyes Martin states that he was assaulted while picketing at Macy's, that his sign was torn and police protection refused him. He then states that he came to the American Civil Liberties Union and asked if we could arrange protection for him, and that we said we were not able to do anything about it.

He did not tell us that he had been assaulted and indeed showed no evidence of an assault. His signs were intact. He merely told us that he had been threatened with assault by a man from the Knights of Columbus.

He was advised to go to the nearest police station and ask for protection and to return to us if it was refused. He thereupon stalked out of the office in a huff.

We receive scores of requests for aid from persons who claim that they have been threatened or are being persecuted. All we can do is aid if police protection is refused.

HERBERT M. LEVY, Staff Counsel,
American Civil Liberties Union
New York, November 30

Teacher's Pet?

Dear Sirs: Criticizing my appraisal of Belgium, Keith Hutchison, in your issue of October 29, makes the following principal points: that Belgium's record as producer and exporter compares unfavorably with Britain's; and that the British eat more than the Belgians.

The first assertion cannot be reconciled with certain things which are matters of demonstrable fact, not of opinion or impression. For example, Sir Stafford Cripps fought bitterly last June in the O. E. E. C. against an arrangement which would have exposed

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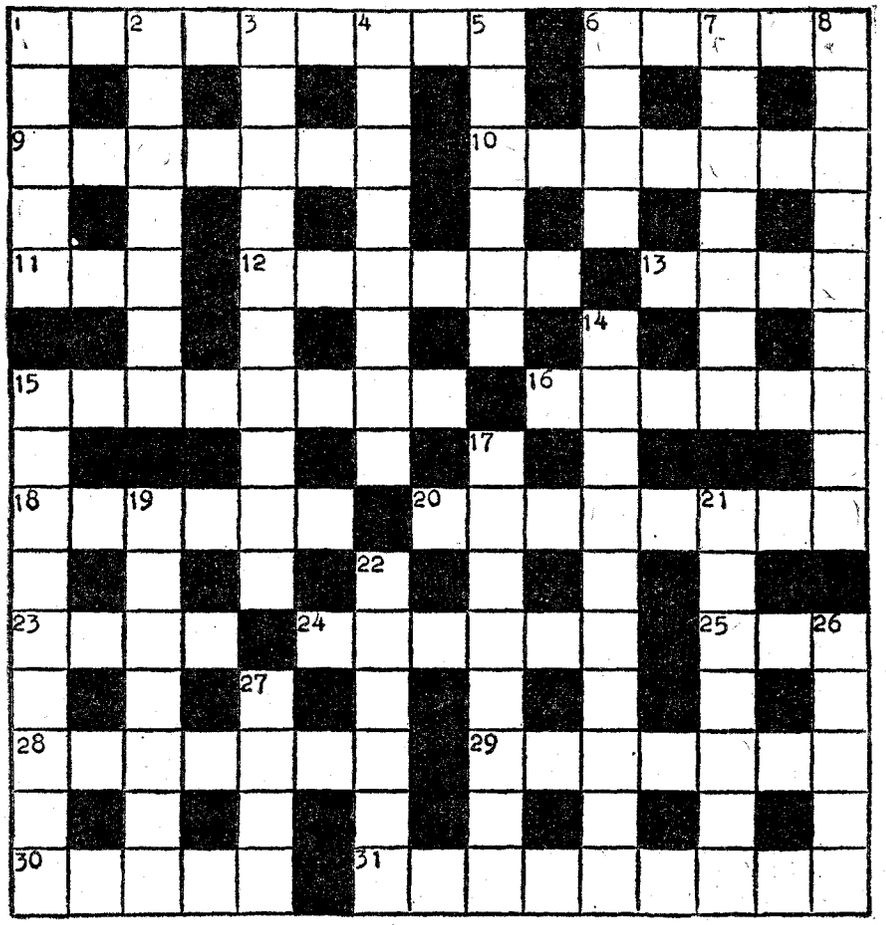
Crossword Puzzle No. 341

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Umbrella for some other time? (9) (hyphenated)
6 and 13. If it sounds nasal, it might be a grave consequence. (9)
9 Their women were simply carried away by the Romans! (7)
10 Perhaps he wants to get married! (7)
11 Greek capital of Rhodes. (3)
12 Sounds like what one gets from the tower. (6)
13 See 6 across.
15 Its plots contain at least one 6–13, usually. (8)
16 It includes Lettish. (6)
18 Things may be held in it, but it's not better to hold a number back. (6)
20 Painter and country prophet. (8)
23 Worried people do to the brow. (4)
24 Lament by the fire. (6)
25 Portuguese colony found some time ago. (3)
28 Title of a strip of Mutt and Jeff, ending in another country. (7)
29 and 3. Basis for a dog-fight? (1, 4, 2, 10)
30 How the pitcher usually bats. (5)
31 With gold leaf I make my point. (9) (hyphenated)

DOWN

1 The face on the stair. (5)
2 Where Bing found love and Joyce's Molly found a husband. (2, 5)
3 See 29.
4 Sermon, if it implies a point. (8)
5 Queens are usually superior to them. (6)
6 The one of the Republic follows the battle. (4)
7 Uncork the wine? (7)
8 Stage vehicle from New Orleans? (9) (hyphenated)
14 Shoe-trees? (10)
15 Heads up with this! (Sounds like 1 swapped ends!) (9) (hyphenated)
17 The price of pastry? (8)
19 Material for a pie. (7)
21 Domingo Theotocopouli. (2, 5)
22 It's the custom of many countries to charge it. (6)
26 So bad it sounds like refuse! (5)
27 The measure of 19 when it doesn't take off. (4)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 340

ACROSS:—1 ENFANT TERRIBLE; 8 ELECTROCUTES; 10 UNDERLINED; 11 TURN; 13 IN LUCK; 14 STRUTTED; 16 EASTERLY; 17 ATYPIC; 19 REED; 20 SYNTHESIZE; 22 APPALACHIANS; 23 HORSE LATITUDES.

DOWN:—1 EXECUTIVE ORDER; 2 FIELD-GLASSES; 3 NUTCRACKER; 4 TROPIC; 5 ROULETTE; 6 IVES; 7 GRAND DUCHESSES; 9 MULTIPLICAND; 12 PUT THE SHOT; 15 PLAY BALL; 18 AT LAST; 21 APIS.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

British goods to more Belgian competition.

And Belgium is the only Marshall Plan country involved in the war which does not get a penny of direct E. C. A. aid. E. C. A. does buy the plentiful Belgian exports and distributes them to more necessitous countries. Here is an obvious contrast with the situation of Britain, which receives almost a billion dollars of direct E. C. A. subsidy but is still threatened with the exhaustion of its gold and dollar reserves. These facts are not compatible with the theory that Belgium is a less efficient producer and exporter.

As for the second point, I rate less highly the 300 calories whereby, according to the United Nations estimate, the Briton out-ate the Belgian in 1947-48 than the evidence of the well-stocked and well-patronized Belgian shops, with their vast array of foodstuffs and consumers' goods which in Britain are unavailable, severely restricted by rationing, or extremely expensive because of high excise taxes. An American trade-unionist who lives in Belgium and is familiar with Britain told me without hesitation that the Belgian workers enjoy a more satisfactory diet. The idea of rationing is so distasteful to Belgians that the Social Democrats did not even make it an issue in the last election. A British correspondent in Brussels recently visited the home of a Belgian worker and sent back to his newspaper mouthwatering descriptions of what this worker and his family ate regularly—menus which would have been impossible to duplicate in a country so stinted on meat, fats, and sugar as is Britain under present austerity. I have not heard of any Belgian workers emigrating to Britain in search of those hypothetical 300 additional calories.

"Teacher's pet" to Mr. Hutchison, Belgium, like Switzerland, seems to me an unanswerable object lesson in the cause-and-effect relation between individual incentive and efficient work and output. With its sound and freely convertible currency, its ability and willingness to stand on its own feet financially, and its desire to throw down trade barriers, Belgium deserves to be the "pet" of harassed E. C. A. officials—and of American taxpayers.

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Cambridge, Mass., November 10

[Mr. Chamberlin makes little effort to challenge the statistical comparisons of production, employment, productiv-

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ity, and exports that I offered but instead switches the subject. Undeniably Belgium's balance-of-payments position is much better than Britain's. That is only to be expected, in view of the fact that Belgian losses in the war were relatively slight and that it emerged from the conflict with a very considerable increase in foreign reserves, while Britain experienced a tremendous decline in its overseas assets. Moreover, the balance in part must be ascribed to unemployment. Jobless men consume less than those drawing wages and do not require raw materials. Hence unemployment tends to depress a country's imports and, therefore, to improve its balance of payments. But it also means failure to make use of full national resources and, in the long run at least, tends to national impoverishment.

With regard to food, I still remain unconvinced that well-stocked and well-patronized stores in capital cities are the best guide to general consumption. Groceries in New York's silk-stocking districts continued to do good business in the thirties, at a time when there were many malnourished families in the lower East Side and other working-class areas. If the F. A. O. figures are correct, the average Belgian has at his disposal rather less food, including milk and dairy products, than the average Briton. No doubt many individual Belgians, including some of the better-paid workers, are able to buy a great deal more than the average; but this can only mean that many others get a great deal less.—K. H.]

A Great German American

Dear Sirs: Freda Kirchwey's editorial [October 8] on Oswald Garrison Villard was most impressive. To it, however, I would like to add that with the passing of Mr. Villard the Germans in our midst—not including the fellow-travelers of the Third Reich—have lost a remarkable spokesman. As an American of German descent who rendered this nation an invaluable service, he will be long remembered. His fight against racial or religious discrimination of any kind should most particularly be noted by German Americans today.

I feel that it would be a good and useful thing if our night schools for prospective American citizens would teach them about the record of men like Oswald Garrison Villard and that hero of all Germans, Carl Schurz.

MARTIN M. FERBER

New York, November 15

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